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502 Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

154 A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing
154 solitude. Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions,
521 and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papurí, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

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154 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother.
• 521 We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontane-
825 ously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip; voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wãx'ti, Boraró, etc.; persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Ararípirá (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

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152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them: psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

574 When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at
576 some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing
521 place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it
*[192] in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nɛ̃! mãxsã nɨ̃ti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch
*[192] each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatʃ mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

574 /166 cont./
576 arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." -- "Where did you come
521 from?" (a question many times useless, because he knows very
well the visitor's place of origin). -- "From X" (and he says the
name of the locality). -- "Ah! Do you come from X?" -- "Yes,
*[192] I come from X." These and similar expressions are interspersed
with silence and with "ĩĩ," each of them alternating, as a sign
that the one understood the other's sentence.

The same will be done and said by each man from the maloca to the guest, or guests, if there were several. Moreover the women will pass one by one in front of each visitor and, touching his right hand, will ask the same questions: -- "Have you arrived?" -- "I have arrived," etc., without however, looking at the guests, with the eyes lowered. The women soon withdraw, and one of them goes to get a small mat, stretches it out in front of the visitors, and on the mat she puts a pan with quinhapira and a sieve with beijú, from which the visitors help themselves without shyness.

574 Later, sitting on the stools or each one in his hammock,
521 they carry on long conversations until the late hours of the night,
with a certain rapidity, interrupted by the very monotonous
"ĩĩ" and with countless and noisy laughs. If we consider that
the Tukano language is so concise, it says so many things with
few words, we will have an idea of the loquacity of the natives
among themselves. The child will tell everything that happened
during the months that he was in school. The adult will tell
about his trips, episodes of fishing or hunting, the events, the
persons that he met, the conversations that he had, his own and
other persons' episodes, and, finally, he will have innumerable
pieces of news to report, which seem uninteresting to us, but
for his childish mentality they are very important. To the curiosity to know corresponds, on the other side, a great desire to
tell.

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521 593 [115] It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

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44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

171 521 574 [115] A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

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as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the imposition of the name (45).

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45. A similar event took place in August of 1956 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of anyone who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

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/footnote 45 cont./ would be their first meeting, we were not able to find out, due to the deficiency of the interpreter. We are inclined to think that they did not know each other before, because the Barâ oarsman had asserted that he did not know the region, and the Ihwãna live in this zone of the Pirá-paranã and came precisely to help us to pass the cachoeira, in accordance with the request that we had made in the maloca visited hours before. The Barâ oarsman got up to see who had arrived. Immediately there was initiated in the silence of the night a dialogue in loud voices, as if there were a quarrel, between the Barâ and the old Ihwãna. They were the traditional exorcisms, with the recollection of the legendary episodes, in order to obtain success for the journey; this was revealed to us by a Tukano Indian who was in our company. At those shouts in the middle of the night, everybody woke up. After a few minutes, with the desire to get the sleep so necessary for anyone who undertakes such arduous travels, we tried to intervene in order to stop the disturbance. It was a futile attempt. The two dialogists, either because they did not understand our wish or, as is more probable, because they were not interested in knowing that they were inconveniencing the others (which is also a marked and general trait of the psychology of these Indians of the Uaupés), and due to the importance that they give to their practices, they continued undisturbed before our remarks and protests. After almost an hour of dialogue in loud voices and in the typical tone of the exorcisms, they shifted to speaking in low and discreet voices, asked for something to eat, and finally, lying on the sand, they slept until dawn.

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c) Extramarital incontinence.

831 The freedom with which the Indian deals with some subjects, with a realism at times crude, is well known. And this not only among themselves, but also with the civilized. Equally well known is the immorality of the conversation among themselves on trips, as in the interior of their malocas, in the hours of rest, interlaced with frequent and lewd laughter. There are not only ambiguous words in their vocabulary, but a whole assemblage of words and sentences of immoral caliber.

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*[192] Moreover there are more than enough proofs of premarital and extramarital incontinence, wõãkĩse, wõãkahĩse, yõãsé or nõãsé (108).

108. Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, already revealed this in 1793: --"With respect to the two vices of incontinence and gluttony, vices so natural to the Indian people, that it seems that they have already stifled and destroyed all their freedom" (o. c., p. 499). The same was reported by Frei Gregório de Bene, Apostolic Missionary of the Uaupés from 1850 to 1852, explaining the reason why, especially in some places, he had to delay administering the sacraments.

1) Premarital liberties.

936 One notes some vigilance by the parents, especially the mothers (at least in front of the civilized), over the daughters who have reached a certain age. It is not enough, however, especially if the circumstances of their life, their works, and customs are considered. And a greater sexual impulse is manifested in the girls who have reached a certain physiological development,

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/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

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593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 595 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21),

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

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512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

• [521] [515] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] [264] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

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1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹáti? Did you drink mingau?"

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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

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The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects. They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

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I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

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chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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574 276 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa- [614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihí*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 535 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In [533] the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.